

JPRS 73960

6 August 1979

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1705



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 73960	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle EAST EUROPE REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1705			5. Report Date 6 August 1979	
7. Author(s)			6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
			11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)	
15. Supplementary Notes			13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
			14.	
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words) This serial report contains information on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.				
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors				
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> German Democratic Republic <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations		
b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms				
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 44
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOVIETS PROTEST PUBLICATION OF BOOK BY ZAGREB MARXIST

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Jul 79 p 5

[Excerpts] For the first time since Tito's visit [to Moscow] in May of this year a critical voice has now been heard again in Moscow. The Soviet news agency TASS reported the publication of an "anti-Soviet diatribe" by the Zagreb "Liber" publishing house. In question is a book by the Yugoslav scholar Vranicki published under the title, "Marxism and Socialism." TASS says, "Its content shows that the book is sharply anti-Soviet in character. It contains hostile attacks on the Soviet state and the Soviet people. The author portrays the development of Soviet society from a slanderous position. The book contains appeals to the detriment of socialist development, entirely in accord with imperialist propaganda."

TASS says not a word concretely about the contents of the "diatribe" or makes known the topics considered worthy of criticism. The author Vranicki, Marxist philosopher who has held a chair for many years at Zagreb University and belonged to the "Praxis group," was in difficulties in Yugoslavia a few years ago. The periodical PRAXIS was suppressed and some of the "Praxis" philosophers went abroad. Vranicki remained and continued his work. His views resemble in several points those of Western Communists such as the Spaniard Ascarate and the French Communist Elleinstein, whose theses, considered provocative in Moscow, have recently been sharply disputed in Soviet publications.

Zagreb book publishers have made themselves unpopular in Moscow several times already. The last time was with the publication of the memoirs of former Yugoslav ambassador to the Soviet Union Micunovic. This book disappeared, allegedly for a while, from the shelves at the time of the Belgrade CSCE Conference.

CSO: 2800

PREPARATORY STAGE OF PARTY CARDS EXCHANGE ENCOUNTERED PROBLEMS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jun 79 p 5

[Article by Engineer Adalbert Mudry of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia: "The Continual Process of Activation: Lessons for the Next Stage in Preparations for the Exchange of Membership Cards"]

[Text] Even though the exchange of membership cards is explicitly an internal party affair, the goals that it serves, as stated in the resolution of the 12th session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, demand the "preparation and realization of the exchange of membership cards so that it effectively aids to further strengthen the revolutionary character of the party, enhance the significance of CPCZ membership, increase the activity, responsibility and discipline of communists, and stimulate the ability of the basic organizations to act."

Understood this way, the exchange is more than an internal party affair and creates conditions for an atmosphere of high criticism, and exactingness for the work of each party member.

Attitudes--Objective, Critical Analysis

In accordance with the resolution of the 12th session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ the regional and district committees of the party last December discussed the resolutions in their own organs and adopted their own political-organizational measures of implementation, based fully on the political-ideological goals of the exchange of membership cards and the scheduled tasks. At the membership meetings at the beginning of the year, members and candidates of all party organizations were informed about the political-ideological goals of the exchange and about the administrative-technical measures of implementing the exchange.

Simultaneously, in accordance with the schedules, the presidia of all district and borough committees of the Communist Party of Slovakia began from January to April to work out and ratify positions on the work of the committees and basic organizations of the party. To achieve this exacting task, the district and borough committees of the party set up a sizeable aktiv.

It is possible to state that the first stage of the exchange--the briefings on the political-ideological goals and the adoption of the administrative-technical measures of implementation--was managed reasonably well. However, the second stage of the exchange, the working out of positions and their ratification, caused significant problems at least at the beginning. Attempts to formulate the so-called model positions showed that the working groups which were supposed to prepare evaluations of activities of the committees and basic organizations in order that these might be discussed by the presidium of the CPCZ district committee underestimated the demanding nature and scope of this task. Only when the first positions were developed it became clear what their subject should have been, and these findings contributed to the unification and clarification of the substantive nature of the positions.

On the basis of the findings available--those gained from direct participation in the discussions of the regional and district committees of the party and those contained in written reports and evaluations--it can be stated that the substantive level of the positions discussed has steadily improved, that they are turning into objective, critical, and exacting analyses of the work of the committees and basic organization of the party, as viewed from the levels of the district committees and the borough committees of the Communist Party of Slovakia.

Only a Collective Approach

In some cases, however, the positions did not meet the requirements; they were inadequate. This only underlines the conclusion that, in implementing significant resolutions, such as those adopted in the organs of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and the Central Committee of the CPSL, it is essential to choose a collective approach, to utilize the broadest possible activity of communists. It is necessary to create working collectives that are capable of creatively working out specific measures which are in full accord with the spirit and the meaning of the adopted resolutions.

To date, preparations of the exchange of CPCZ membership cards yielded much positive experience. The shortcomings and inadequacies appeared in the organizational and management work of the district committees of the party. This makes apparent the necessity to deepen the diagnostic activity of the district committees of the CPSL, the need for a differentiated approach in the management of basic organizations, and the need of acquiring a better knowledge of the basic documents adopted by the party organs, including the statutes of the party. These and other findings must be exploited for further qualitative improvement of party work at all levels. We have information which shows that even the regional committees of the party failed to consistently fulfill their tasks in respect to the basic organizations of the party which they oversee directly.

At present the organs and organizations of the party are entering the next stage of the preparations for the exchange of membership cards. This stage

consists of relaying the adopted positions to the committees of the basic party organizations and of having them discussed at the membership meetings. It is a question of understanding each position as an impulse for its development into concrete tasks which will be projected into the work plans and chief tasks of organization before the 16th CPCZ Congress.

The findings, however, indicate that not all committees of the basic organizations of the party have fully understood the purpose of the position in relation to further work of the organization. Some basic organizations in Bratislava and in the East Slovak regional party organization rejected the position and returned it to the supervisory organs.

In the overwhelming majority of the organizations, however, the position became the instrument for critical analysis of the methods and forms of work of the committee and of the entire basic organization, for the demanding evaluation of the activities of all members of the party.

Attentively to Study the Causes of Passivity

Part of preparations for the exchange of party membership cards is also its technical and administrative implementation. At the end of April the filling out of the questionnaires has been completed. Now we are eliminating discrepancies in the records of party members that appear from comparisons of members' records as registered with the basic organization and those registered at the district committee of the CPSL. Here it is necessary to emphasize the need for consistent observance of the Directive of the Central Committee of the CPCZ for Disciplinary Inquiry in the Organs and Organizations of the Party. It is necessary to resolve the cases of those members and candidates of the party who are not registered in the records and those who are being criminally prosecuted, as required by the party statutes, and this must be done before the start of the interviews. It is necessary to evaluate activities of those members of the party who have been recently disciplined by the party, and here it is necessary primarily to study whether the party punishment fulfilled its educational function; the joint responsibility for this is shared with the party member by the committee of the basic organization and the party group.

It is demanded of the basic organizations as well as of the district and borough committees of the party that they speak to the passive members of the party with greater attention and understanding, that they find out about the causes of their passivity and find ways of making them participate in party work. Certainly, if they demonstrate a permanent disinterest for party work it will be necessary to end their membership. These important and extremely sensitive questions must be resolved before the start of the interviews.

It is evident that in adopting the administrative-technical measures for the implementation of the exchange of membership cards neither the basic organizations nor the district and borough committees of the party have been proceeding consistently enough. For example, upon the transfer of a party member from

one workplace to another the completed questionnaires and evaluation are not forwarded as a basis for implementing an interview.

Interviews without Formalities

Statistical surveys make it clear that the number of representatives of higher organs present at the membership meetings declined in the months of March and April. It is therefore requested that they increase their participation and methodical support of the committees of the basic organizations of the party, and do it now, during the preparation of the substantive material for the June membership meeting.

The exchange of membership cards is not just a single action in a series but a process which continually promotes activization of the membership base in order to implement the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress. Therefore, we regard the exchange as having an intrinsic relationship to the present economic and ideological tasks of the party, as well as to the systematic qualitative improvement of the basic membership. In spite of this, it appears that the exchange of membership cards in places has distracted the attention of the district committees of the party and the basic organizations from this point. Therefore, it is necessary even at present to devote constant attention to the qualitative improvement of the basic membership. After all, the exchange also pursues the goal contained in the resolution of the 12th session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ--to constantly broaden the basic membership with new members and candidates, to strengthen the worker nucleus of the party, to consolidate party ranks, to strengthen the party unity and ability to act.

At present it is already time for the preparation of the interviews themselves. In those organizations that have more than 70 members they begin in July. We are extraordinarily concerned that the interviews be carried out without any trace of formalism. It is necessary to bear this in mind now, during the period of preparations.

The preparation of positions and their discussion in the presidia of the district committees of the CPSL showed that some comrades do not know the statutes of the party and other documents sufficiently well; many questions concerning the application of the right of control are not clear to them, (for example, committees apply it although only the basic organizations have the right of control). These inadequacies should be quickly eliminated.

The exchange of membership cards understood in this way will not be a formal act nor a purge of the party but will engender permanent efforts for a further internal strengthening of the party, for a resolution of the demanding tasks of the future.

9329

CSO: 2400

EDITORIAL DISCUSSES PARTY CARD EXCHANGE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Jun 79 p 1

[Editorial: "Into the Decisive Stage"]

[Text] With the membership meetings of the party's basic organizations which are taking place this month the process of membership card exchange is entering a politically most demanding stage as to timing. The course and level of the June membership meetings--at which communists, on the basis of party okres committees' standpoints, are evaluating the work of their basic organization, committee, its members and the overall situation in preparation for talks with every member of the organization--show very objectively not only the measure of versatility and quality with which individual organizations ensured the inevitable political-organizational preparation during the preceding two stages but primarily how they fulfill and realize the principal goals and mission of membership card exchange.

The first knowledge which was gained indicates that in most of the organizations they correctly understood that the party is using this significant event in its internal life primarily to evaluate communists' approach and participation in the effort to implement the 15th Party Congress program and line.

Therefore, precisely at these meetings which mark the beginning of the decisive stage, it is extremely urgent to again elucidate under the specific conditions of every organization that this is a process which will permanently activate not only individual organizations but the entire membership base of the party, intensify its revolutionary character, increase the significance of membership in the vanguard of the worker class and other working people, increase the activity and responsibility of every communist for building up of the developed socialist community, and effectively mobilize the forces of party, state, economic and social organs and organizations for further successful development.

The great significance of the June membership meetings lies primarily in the fact that in the approach and demands with which they discuss the conclusions, their standpoints, together with their own measures for evaluating

the work of the organization, the work of the committee and its members, undoubtedly form a criterion for evaluating the work of the other communists and in fact are a practical instruction and starting point for talks the organization will have with each member during the coming months.

It is therefore correct that in evaluation at the June meetings emphasis be placed especially upon the criterion contained in conclusions of the 11th CPCZ Central Committee session; that the principled character of each party member, especially functionaries and management workers, must be judged according to how they fulfill the entrusted tasks in their everyday work, how they fight for the party policy and how they are able to clarify and implement its goals.

Any formality and inconsistency in the approach toward implementing conclusions and measures based on standpoints would weaken the party's efforts for increased implementation capability of the party organization and its tie-in with the working people who expect from the membership card exchange the adoption of effective procedures for the decisive solution of urgent problems and the overcoming of obstacles to our progress which lie ahead.

In many of the standpoints it is justifiably pointed out how it is necessary throughout the party organization's entire system of activity to increase the content, quality, direction at specific persons, the weight and authority of party resolutions which point out the directions of obligated work, represent a generalization of collective knowledge, and whose consistent implementation of the party line. Precisely the comprehensive and long-range evaluation at the June membership meetings confirms the merit of assigning party tasks to members and candidates and their systematic control at membership and committee meetings and party groups. In this way the responsibility for their implementation is increased and it is made possible to proceed to assigning more concrete tasks oriented according to the organization's needs and the individual party member's capabilities--to the solution of economic problems, to improvement in the quality of political-organizational and ideologically educational work or to participation in party and public life.

Especially in connection with membership card exchange it is inevitable to avoid any formality in this direction and to create well considered and rational conditions so that each communist is entrusted with a party task which corresponds to his possibilities and effectively helps fulfill the main needs arising for the organization from the 15th Party Congress program and line.

From an evaluation of activity for the past period a characteristic feature follows that party organs and organizations are devoting even more concentrated attention to implementing the party's economic policy and that most of them are successful--although still with different results--in increasing influence upon fulfillment of the plan's tasks and in applying a more concrete approach toward matters of developing the economy of enterprises, plants and cooperatives. Especially past and also the present months when

it is necessary to wage a hard struggle with nature, not getting anything without effort, have confirmed what a substantial force the purposeful political-organizational operation of party organizations is in creating the necessary political atmosphere and the development of initiative to overcome shortcomings in industrial production and consequences of the long-term drought in the fields and to intensify the struggle for fulfillment of all the quantitative and qualitative indicators of the plan.

By intensified struggle we in no case mean the breathless "sugar-beet season" style of work but, on the contrary, purposeful concentration on the principal links of production, on its evenness, concentrated effort toward increased quality and improved decision-making and managing activity at all levels which is the inevitable precondition of smooth and effective work. It is not enough to live with just the problems of the day and to depend on an uncontrolled, unrestrained operative routine decision which in the final analysis does not solve the substance of the problem. The complexity and difficulty of the present tasks require primarily from management workers deeper, more critical look at the utilization of possibilities, forces and means, more demanding judgment of adopted measures, as well as stronger party control when the implementation of tasks is lagging.

Therefore the correct procedures for the upcoming talks with each member were pointed out by those organizations which concretized the critical character of standpoints according to the conditions of organizations and the individual workplaces and, from the discussions of suggestions and comments at the June meetings, deduce measures which are inevitable to further improve the work quality and level of the entire organization as well as of each of its members.

To be sure, the basis of all our successes has always been, is now, and always will be, only the creative and self-sacrificing work of each party member and the example set in implementing party resolutions and tasks.

11360
CSO: 2400

WEST GERMAN COMMENTARIES ON NEW GDR LAWS, AMENDMENTS

State Security Laws

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 14-15 Jul 79 p 10

[Article by H. Loelhoeffel, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG editorial staff, dated Berlin, GDR, July: "East Berlin Intensifies the Pressure: Analysis of the New GDR Laws--Vague Wording, Severe Penalties"]

[Text] On 1 August the new laws passed by the People's Chamber undebated at the end of June go into effect. One week later the GDR population was informed of this by the publication of these laws in the [East Berlin] GESETZBLATT. Comparison with the statutes currently in force reveals that not merely necessary adjustments and specifications have been made, as the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND has been trying to deceive its readers with the phrase "socialist law perfected." In reality, one finds that considerably intensified threats of punishment and some new and expanded statutory offenses have been introduced; there are also regulations open to various interpretations and thus particularly difficult to evaluate.

It remains to be seen whether the GDR system of justice will rigorously enforce these partially quite drastic state security laws against disagreeable citizens right from the outset, or keep them in reserve as a means of intimidation for the time being. The new laws allow us to draw conclusions, however, as to what types of criminality in the GDR have increased, and to what types of criminal the Worker and Peasant State feels compelled to protect itself from more effectively.

In dealing with repeating offenders the GDR system of justice obviously considers residence restrictions and bans on personal contacts as the proper approach. At any rate, one can no longer speak of rehabilitation when the competent authorities frequently forbid recidivists and probationers "association with certain persons or groups" as well as residence in "certain localities, places, or districts."

Many restrictions are unmistakably directed against "rowdiness" and "riotous assemblies." Anyone who has been reading the police and court reports in

the provincial press knows that these are topical problems in the GDR. The length of juvenile sentences has been raised "up to 3 months" (it was 6 weeks at most). The text of the directive stating that youths were to be confined "in special facilities of the Ministry of the Interior" has been changed to read, "Juvenile sentences will be served in separation from adults." In the GDR this generally takes place in semipublic "youth work yards" (Jugendwerkhofe), where young people under sentence perform "socially useful work," mostly in agriculture.

Crimes Against the Republic

Almost completely rewritten was the Penal Code chapter on "Crimes against the German Democratic Republic," which lists the penalties for spies, agents, terrorists and other "enemies of the state." In nearly all these offenses, even preparation and attempt will henceforth be punishable. Also new is the frequently recurring expression, "to the detriment of GDR interests," perhaps an intentionally vague formulation providing no legal security for the citizen, but giving the state organs the opportunity for arbitrary interpretation. Some maximum penalties have been raised; even before, spies, terrorists and saboteurs could be shot according to GDR law in serious cases.

Particularly touchy is the newly formulated Article 99, which introduces the circumstances for "treasonous transmission of intelligence" (previously known as "treasonous breach of faith"). Accordingly sentences of from 2 to 12 years can be given to whoever collects or disseminates "information not subject to secrecy"--i.e., public information--"to the detriment of GDR interests." Here it is not only unclear which nonsecret information is now to be considered secret, but also whom such information must be withheld from. The definition in the new GDR law reads, "[from] a foreign power, its institutions or representatives, secret services or foreign organizations and their helpers." Who falls under this definition? Perhaps diplomats, journalists, and even relatives who, even though they are making private visits, have some kind of function in the "capitalist world abroad"?

The ludicrous sounding first sentence of the old article on espionage has been deleted: "The socialist state comprehensively protects and secures its state, economic, and military secrets from everyone." It now seems that the East Berlin state protectors consider this self-evident; on the other hand, they have added in the article on "anti-state agitation" a prohibition on disparaging "social conditions" in the GDR or its "friendship and alliance relations." Thus whoever makes fun of the fraternal party, the DKP [West German CP], which in FRG elections always gets only some tenths of a percent of the votes cast, an amount equivalent to the minute percentage of votes that the SED does not get, can be punished with a sentence of from one to 8 years, just as someone who praises fascism or militarism or who "practice racism" (this is new).

A penal provision previously known as "formation of anti-state groups" has been rechristened "unconstitutional association." This will be

punishable as well for anyone who "promotes or in any other way supports" such association. A new paragraph in the article on criminal trespass serves as an effective block to unexpected protest actions against the authorities: "Whoever participates in a riotous assembly of people who violently force their way into public buildings, or who remain there without authorization, will be punished with a prison term of up to 5 years, or an extended term, or a fine."

There were no considerable changes in some of the provisions on crimes to the detriment of socialist property and offenses against the national economy. The increase in the extent of punishment from 2 to 5 years, however, is an unmistakable indication that there are problems in this area. The enumeration of possible targets for economic spies has been expanded to include "information on research and development findings, technologies, and processing methods." At the same time the possible sentence has been jacked up to 5 years (from 2 years).

The penalties for offenses "against the public order" were also raised. These include rowdiness and riotous assembly. Maximum penalties are now 10 years instead of 8 in serious cases. The same holds true for ring-leaders.

The two most drastic innovations for GDR citizens are Penal Code articles 219 and 220. A person will be guilty of "illegal establishment of contacts" not only when establishing contacts with organizations, institutions or persons "that have formulated goals for activity directed against the state order of the GDR," but also under the following conditions: "Also liable to punishment is (1) whoever, as GDR citizens, disseminates or causes the dissemination abroad of information capable of damaging the interests of the GDR, or who to this end produces or causes the production of records; (2) whoever transmits or causes the transmission of writings, manuscripts or other materials capable of damaging the interests of the GDR to organizations, institutions or persons abroad in circumvention of legal stipulations."

One can easily imagine that the first paragraph could be directed against ARD or ZDF [FRG broadcasting companies] television correspondents; the second could be used against such GDR citizens as Robert Havemann or Stefan Heym who have occasionally sent surreptitious written or taped statements to friends abroad when they believed that they were in trouble.

Also expanded were the statutory elements constituting "public defamation" of the state. Consequently whoever disseminates writings or symbols "which are capable" of disparaging the state or its representatives is liable to punishment. Included among these will also be racist and "revanchist" symbols; previously, only the terms "fascist and militarist" were listed.

"Purchase of Freedom" Made Easier

The inspection of accounts and the monitoring of the telephones of citizens under suspicion have been legally written into the Code of Criminal Procedure. The taping of telephone conversations is legally possible in the GDR in case of urgent suspicion that crimes punishable by sentences of more than 2 years "have been prepared or committed using the telephone lines." This is thus an extremely far-reaching measure which, in accordance with the law, "is to be suspended without delay" as soon as "the grounds for its issue" no longer apply.

Besides the new customs, foreign exchange, passport, and alien registration regulations, which have been tightened in intent but not in substance, there is a new regulation that enables the courts to deport foreigners convicted in the GDR before the completion of their sentences. This makes it easier for the FRG, for example, to exchange or purchase the freedom of prisoners.

Quite in passing, there are also some reformulations which seem unimportant at first view; e.g., the Penal Code now consistently uses the term "foreigners" instead of the previously used term "citizens of other states." Moreover where the text previously read "beyond the state territory of the GDR," it now reads "abroad." For the GDR, the FRG and West Berlin are "abroad." The term "imperialist secret service" has been replaced by "a foreign power." "Organizations, institutions, groups or persons conducting a struggle against the GDR" has been more simply rewritten as "the agencies named in Article 97"; and those, of course, are "foreign powers, their institutions or representatives or secret services or foreign organizations and their helpers."

Commentary by Winters

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Jul 79 p 10

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, 1 July: "In This Way Criticism of SED Becomes Almost Impossible--The Third GDR Criminal Law Amendment"]

[Text] The Third Criminal Law Amendment, which the GDR People's Chamber passed in downright stealth last Thursday (28 June), without previous announcement and without debate, and whose provisions, which go into effect on 1 August, have not as yet been published in the GDR, is yet another example of how the SED, even in the thirtieth year of existence of its "Worker and Peasant State," has yet to find any formula for coming to terms with independent thinkers, critics, or dissidents other than through the Penal Code. True, ruthless Konrad Naumann, chief of SED's East Berlin Bezirk organization and ambitious Politburo member, proclaimed only last weekend that the SED, as a party of revolutionaries, was "critical and self-critical," though he hastened to add, "We are not a party of

mere critics." The fact is that almost all criticism is henceforth forbidden and punishable by severe penalties. How else is one to interpret the newly inserted passages in the Penal Code articles on "illegal establishment of contacts" and "public defamation" in the chapter on "Crimes against the State and Public Order"? One almost feels how the lawmakers have tried to prevent by threats of punishment what they have recently experienced with Stefan Heym or Robert Havemann, with Bahro or the many desiring exit visas who turn to agencies in the West for help.

In future, prison terms of up to 5 years will be given to anyone "who as a GDR citizen disseminates or causes the dissemination abroad of information capable of damaging the interests of the GDR, or who to this end produces or causes the production of records." The same fate awaits whoever "transmits or causes the transmission of writings, manuscripts or other materials capable of damaging the interests of the GDR in circumvention of legal stipulations"--for authors this means: in circumvention of the GDR Copyright Office--"to organizations, institutions or persons abroad." What is capable of damaging the interests of the GDR? And what is capable of "disparaging state or public order," of "disturbing socialist social life or questioning the state or social order"? For whoever disseminates writings, objects, or symbols that may fit this description or makes them accessible to others in any way, that person may count on a prison term of up to 3 years. To ask the question is to answer it: "capable" of having the above-mentioned effect means of course anything not to the liking of the party, anything deviating from party opinion.

Besides the tougher version of the political criminal law, a particularly striking feature of the Third Criminal Law Amendment is a general increase in fines, prison terms, and prison terms for juveniles, as well as a greater focus on stipulated prison terms for political offenses. Whereas the fine to date has been at most 10,000 marks, and for crimes involving considerable profiteering, at most 100,000 marks, the upper limits are now 100,000 and 500,000 marks respectively. After 1 August Robert Havemann would hardly have gotten away with a fine of 10,000 marks. At the same time, the maximum for disciplinary penalties has been raised: from 300 to 500 marks for common misdemeanours, and up to 10,000 marks for intentional and negligent violations of financial transaction, of tax, price, social security and environmental laws. In the case of violations of the Customs and Foreign Exchange Law, the customs authorities now have the right to issue fines of up to 20,000 marks--previously 5,000 marks. A prison term, which was previously 6 weeks at most, can now last 6 months; repeating offenders "who have already been punished for crimes" will have to face minimum sentences of 3 years, and the sentence for juvenile offenders, previously 6 weeks at most, can now last 3 months.

The spatial and personal jurisdiction of the GDR's penal laws has also been extended. The GDR penal laws now apply also to GDR ships and aircraft outside of the country, and to crimes committed by GDR citizens abroad. Foreigners--and for the GDR they include also Germans from the FRG and West Berlin--can be held responsible in the GDR for crimes

committed abroad, e.g., "if by committing a crime they have considerably impaired the rights and interests of the GDR or its citizens or if they commit crimes directed against GDR institutions abroad." On the other hand, the GDR Penal Code now has a new stipulation according to which those foreigners who are under sentence "may be deported at any time, in place of the further execution of a scheduled prison term." This raises the possibility for the FRG government to purchase ahead of time the freedom of Germans from the FRG, including West Berlin, sentenced in the GDR.

Containing among other things the stipulations concerning the various forms of treason, sedation, sabotage, anti-state trading in human beings (commercial to escapees from the GDR), anti-state agitation and unconstitutional associations, the almost entirely revised chapter on "Crimes against the GDR" now makes punishable even the "preparation and attempt" of nearly all offenses. In the chapter, "Crimes against the State Order," maximum sentences have been increased in almost all cases, e.g., "Resistance to State Actions," from 3 to 5 years or, if the crime is committed "in collaboration with others," from 5 to 8 years. In the case of "illegal border crossing"--now including instances of GDR citizens "illegally failing to return to the GDR, or not returning on time, or violating other state stipulations concerning foreign residence"--the maximum penalty for a "serious case" will be 8 years instead of the previous 5. For serious cases of crimes against the public order--"rowdiness," for example--the maximum penalty will be 10 years instead of the previous 8. "Whoever participates in a riotous assembly of people who violently force their way into public buildings, or who remain there without authorization," will have to face a prison term of up to 5 years; and anyone found guilty of aiding and abetting the escape of prisoners will face 5 years instead of 2; if he uses or threatens to use force, even a 10 year sentence is possible.

Up to now the GDR Code of Criminal Procedure has made no provision for the "surveillance and recording of telecommunications traffic on sound equipment," i.e., the monitoring of telephones. This is now officially permitted in an amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedure. One is likewise reminded of the specific cases mentioned earlier when one reads the following new directive of the GDR Code of Criminal Procedure: "The inspection of savings accounts, clearing accounts of savings institutions, other clearing accounts, postal checking accounts, and other accounts of persons suspected of crimes, or of participating therein, is permissible whenever the supposition exists that this will lead to incriminating evidence." The inspection of accounts and the monitoring of telephones will be ordered by the State Prosecutor, and in emergency cases, also by the "investigative authorities." Finally, among the steps and preventive measures that state organs can take in certain cases will be those which may restrict residence to certain areas, forbid contact with certain persons or groups, and prohibit the ownership of certain objects.

It is clear that the means and devices put at the disposal of the authorities responsible for state security have once more been expanded. Order and tranquility are to be the first commandment of the GDR--the order and tranquility of a graveyard.

Effects on Alien Registration

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 6 Jul 79 p 8

[Article by Helmut Loelhoeffel, SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG editorial staff, datelined Berlin, GDR, 5 July: "GDR Stiffens Also Its Alien Registration Law--Previous Provision on Stay for 'Indefinite Period' Missing in New Text"]

[Text] The GDR has stiffened its alien registration laws as well and changed the stipulations concerning the right of asylum. This is indicated by the issue of the [East Berlin] GESETZBLATT published on Thursday (28 June). The new criminal laws (including those on political and state security offenses), adopted by the People's Chamber one week ago in a surprise move without debate, go into effect on 1 August.

According to the previously valid 1956 law, all foreigners authorized to reside in the GDR--also including FRG citizens and West Berliners--were entitled to reside anywhere in the GDR "as long as they wish, so long as no local or temporal limitation was indicated in their residence authorization." The comparatively generous formulation "as long as they wish" does not appear in the new text. Instead it now reads: "The authorization (for residence) can be limited in time or place, denied, revoked, or declared invalid. This decision requires no justification." Whoever stays longer than allowed can, as before, be deported. Of course the possibility of registering a complaint against the deportation decision is new.

An additional directive concerning the residence of foreigners in the GDR distinguishes three groups: foreigners with a permanent place of residence and an unlimited Aufenthaltserlaubnis (residence permit); foreigners with "long-term" residence in the GDR (for occupational training or practice) who receive a so-called Aufenthaltsgenehmigung (residence approval); and finally, "short-term residences" for business, tourist or personal reasons, for which a so-called Aufenthaltsberechtigung (residence authorization) is issued. The upper limit for disciplinary penalties in cases of violation of these regulations has been raised from 300 to 500 marks.

The right of asylum guaranteed in the GDR constitution was also changed along with the new Alien Registration Law. Previously, foreigners whose support of GDR constitutional principles had made them targets of persecution abroad "were permitted residence in the GDR." The text of the law further read: "They will neither be extradited nor deported." This additional remark has now been deleted. The new regulation is that the GDR Council of Ministers will decide on "the granting or denying of asylum." Authorization for such decisions may be delegated by the Council.

The most important changes in the current GESETZBLATT are new penalties concerning "illegal establishment of contacts," "public defamation," and other offenses such as "treasonous transmission of intelligence," even including--as reported--the transmittal of such information to foreigners that is not subject to secrecy.

Also made public was the new GDR Electoral Law, which according to an interpretation of ADN [GDR news agency] grants the inhabitants of East Berlin, "in alteration of the current practice, the right to elect their deputies to the GDR People's Chamber directly." The three Western powers and the FRG government have deemed this a unilateral change in the status of Berlin. Responding to statements made by FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt before the Bundestag, a spokesman of the GDR Foreign Ministry said that the changes in the GDR Electoral Law were an internal matter; the Quadripartite Agreement referred exclusively to West Berlin: "The word 'Berlin,' as anyone can see from the text, appears nowhere in it. Rather, it contains stipulations that refer exclusively to West Berlin." Schmidt's "utterances" were a "puzzle" to him, the East Berlin ministry spokesman declared. The FRG Chancellor had said that the change in the Electoral Law was not compatible with the multilateral interest in maintaining a calm situation in Berlin.

CSO: 2300

WARSAW PZPR COMMITTEE PLENUM FOCUSES ON IDEOLOGICAL ISSUES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Jun-1 Jul 79 pp 1, 2

[Article by (an-in)]

[Text] The plenary meeting of the Warsaw PZPR Committee on 29 June was devoted to ideological-educational problems. Opening the proceedings, Central Committee Secretary and PZPR Voivodship First Secretary Alojzy Karkoszka emphasized that the Warsaw organization attaches great importance to work in this area, which was expressed by, among other things, the course of the 16th Report-Election Conference.

The current plenum carried out an evaluation of the ideological-educational work done to date, laid out the tasks for the immediate future, and pointed out further new forms and methods for their realization.

The report of the executive of the PZPR Voivodship Committee was presented by PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretary Jolanta Matuszewicz, who emphasized that the discussion about these tasks is going on in the year of the 35th anniversary of People's Poland, when we are evaluating the road we have travelled and are simultaneously preparing ourselves for the Party debate about the future of the country in the 1980's which will be conducted before the Eighth Party Congress. Both in the report and in the discussion an evaluation was made of the results to date of the ideological-educational activities in the whole Warsaw Party organization, in the entire society of our region, and also in individual circles, social and youth organization, and industrial plants. There was talk about the need to develop and improve the offensive posture in acting in all its areas and on all its levels and about the need for a fuller expression of a feeling of responsibility on the part of the managerial cadre, every Party member, and every citizen for his behavior in everyday life and for the education of the young generation.

"The formation of socially desirable, active, and committed attitudes," stated the report, "is, therefore, an exceedingly important task, both from the point of view of a constant enrichment, based on socialist ideological-moral principles, of social life and human personality, and from

the point of view of the successful solution of the current socio-economic problems of the development of the country."

The duty, especially of Party members, is inflexibility in the face of manifestations of any evil, and discovery of its roots. "We are a thinking and active society," it was stated in the report, among other places. "Frequently, however, there are still collisions between modern technology and primitive organization and between modern solutions and conformist attitudes." The satisfaction of material needs must be accompanied by the development of the spiritual needs of man and his unceasing moral development.

The results of ideological-educational work can and should also be measured by their effects on production and the degree of commitment of Varsovians to the issues of their city, neighborhood, or place of work. The inhabitants of the capital have already given many proofs of their self-sacrificing and emotional attitude by participating in numerous social works and production actions, it was emphasized in the report. This is undoubtedly the result of mass-political work among the work forces of Warsaw's plants, institutions, and schools, and of the activity of the Warsaw Center for Ideological Formation.

During the deliberations much attention was devoted to the matter of the formation of the proper attitudes of the young generation. The youth in Warsaw and the voivodship is, after all, close to 40 percent of the total of society. It constitutes one third of all those employed in the national economy. "Good example, factual discipline and order, and unity of attitude and behavior at work and in everyday life have great significance for educating the youth to respect these basic conditions during the course of their learning, studies, or professional work," stated the report.

It was pointed out during the discussion that the educational process is a constant thing and that it should become the universal duty to evoke social acceptance of our way of life and to evoke a striving for full knowledge of the world and the transformations ongoing in it. It was also pointed out that this duty falls in equal measure on the family, school, institution of higher learning, and place of work, and on party and social organizations.

The mass media and creative circles: Writers, artists, those involved with the theatre and with films, and sculptors, have exceptional tasks in forming social consciousness.

The basic task, therefore, of the whole Warsaw Party organization and of every member and candidate in the area of ideological-educational work is to mobilize all forces to achieve ever better and fuller effects. This offensive posture in education must be conducted in cooperation with the allied political groups, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, and by making better use of the work of social and youth organizations.

"It is necessary that in our educational work we be as fully conscious as possible of the role which Warsaw plays toward the whole country.... We should strive to make the society of Warsaw, a city of revolutionary and patriotic traditions, do as much as possible for the welfare of the whole nation, so that, conscious of the massive scale of the transformations of the last 35 years, which were achieved by the collective effort of the entire nation, in cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, and especially with the Soviet Union, it might excel in work for the country, so that it might give an example of a civic attitude toward the Fatherland, and so that it might make its contribution to the political atmosphere of the struggle for peace, socialism, and social justice in the world," it was stated in the report.

The plenum adopted a resolution laying out the further tasks in the area of ideological-educational work.

The following took part in the discussion: Jerzy Boleslawski, Antoni Kaluza, Zygmunt Kaminski, Jan Karczewski, Janusz Karpinski, Marian Kuszewski, Mirosława Machura, Mirosław Recha, Bohdan Rolinski, Czesław Rowinski, Jerzy Schczerban, Jerzy Zalega, and Tadeusz Zboinski.

During the second part of the deliberations Voivodship Committee Secretary Henryk Szablak presented current information about the work of the executive and secretariat of the PZPR Voivodship Committee.

CSO: 2600

OBJECTIVES, ACTIVITIES OF PZPR CLUB 'KUZNICA' EXAMINED

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 6, Jun 79 pp 5-7

[Article by Mieczyslaw Kieta]

[Excerpts] "Kuznica" was founded on the initiative of Party circles of creators [writers, artists, etc.]. In accordance with its statute, it brings together creators and culture activists who want to join: both PZPR members and non-Party persons who proclaim themselves in favor of the ideological principles of the Party. The objective of the group of founders was to create a center which would integrate the activities of Party groups in the area of culture, a center which would shape ideological opinions about the phenomena and problems of socialist culture, and which would inspire creativity and activity.

The objective was attained. The four years of achievement of "Kuznica" are proof that the activity of the club has brought about constant contact between creators and cultural life activists and circles. Members of the club participate in the dissemination of the Party's ideological-political line in the area of culture and art, participate in shaping it and in creating cultural life plans, and assist in their implementation.

These statutory tasks are fulfilled through cooperation with the Krakow PZPR Committee and with Party committees in unions, associations, and institutions active in the culture field.

According to the principle of this cooperation, "Kuznica" is developing an extensive program of activities for its members and for other circles. It is composed of inspirational-programmatic help for youth and worker socialist culture circles and organization for all Party cultural circles of ideological conferences, Party instruction, discussion meetings, exhibitions, shows, and presentations of creative achievement. Its own club publication, ZDANIE, which is printed by the Literary Publishing House, has been coming out since last year.

The club of Marxist creators and culture activists, "Kuznica," is administered by a 41 person Club Council; today it has 355 members: writers, sculptors, men of the theatre, musicians, and representatives of the social sciences and

humanities. Among the members of "Kuznica" are 62 journalists, not all of them from Krakow. Over 80 percent of all the members of this association live in Krakow, "Kuznica's" statutory seat. Others live in Warsaw (the largest group), Poznan, and Katowice.

Among the numerous forms of activity of the club, three cycles of discussion meetings and functions have become a regular feature. The first of these is "Poland"; the second is "The Communist and Worker Movement"; the third is "Art." The starting point for meetings about these three subject groups have generally been important political and cultural events. Direct and wide-ranging discussions are evoked especially by contacts with specialists in the area of philosophy and culture and in the area of art and aesthetic theory, by the author's evenings hosted by "Kuznica" members, and by post-premier meetings with creators of theatre performances and films. It is a noteworthy fact that representatives of the work forces of large plants and youth are invited to many meetings of this kind.

Culture activists, writers and critics, politicians, and Party activists from foreign countries are frequent guests of "Kuznica"; they come from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, Bulgaria, Romania, Cuba, Angola, Chile, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Finland, the FRG, and the United States. Many of these visits, and also many meetings with activists from the leadership of our Party, have been starting points for discussions about problems of the international worker movement.

"Kuznica" has instituted and presents the honorary award, "Kowadlo," for works and achievements pertaining to contemporary affairs. Outstanding works or initiatives which deal in an ideological and non-conformist way with important questions of ideological-political consciousness are distinguished by the "Kowadlo" award. Eight such awards have been presented to date.

"Kowadlo" awards are not presented on a regularly scheduled basis. Meeting with laureates, and discussions of their works and activities have always transformed themselves into the evening discussions so typical of "Kuznica's" work.

Another interesting initiative of the Club of Creators and Culture Activists has been the announcement of a contest, with the participation of the Central Council of Trade Unions, for the scenario of a presentation about the life and activity of outstanding revolutionaries and leaders of the Polish worker movement whose names are borne by large plants. The contest encompasses scenarios of the following kinds: political factomontage, monodramas, and outdoor presentations. This is the first initiative of this kind in the country. Over 30 works from the whole of Poland have come in for the contest, and the decision is expected presently.

The first issue of ZDANIE, "Kuznica's" publication, came out last year. The fourth issue will appear shortly. Each of these issues is a pamphlet with about 150 pages. In the first issue, in an address to "Kuznica"

members, we can read the following: "We have named our publication ZDANIE. This name indicates the intent of the materials included in it. We simply want to express our opinion [zdanie], which is common for the ideological climate of 'Kuznica,' and the opinions of the authors of individual articles about important matters: about the attitude of a communist, the socialist man, the duty of the intelligentsia, socialist morality, ideological principles...

"We address ZDANIE above all to the creators of artistic works, culture activists, humanists, scientists and social sciences specialists, the Party and state aktiv, and to all those for whom the desire is very near and very dear to build a socialist Poland, to form a full and well-rounded man of the epoch of socialism, and to develop the creative and responsible attitudes and motivations of people who are the factual subjects of historical transformations. We nurture the hope that ZDANIE will prove to be a necessary voice in the discussion about the present and future of socialism and that it will at least permit others more clearly to formulate their own position."

The issues of ZDANIE published to date include academic, artistic, and publicistic works by members of the club and the transcripts of some club discussions. In them are journalistic works, especially reports. Thanks to ZDANIE, the club has expanded its outside activities, because these are a reflexion of "Kuznica's" rich internal life, a continuation, as it were, of the daily meetings and discussions in it. It also creates for "Kuznica" members who live outside of Krakow the possibility for constant contact with the club of creators through the columns of the publication.

Postscript: The "Kuznica" group for worker culture recently began activity. It is preparing a public discussion in a worker circle about the picture of the Polish worker in Polish TV serials, taking the release of the last serial, "Slad na ziemi," as its starting point.

"Kuznica" has also initiated ongoing lectures about literature in liceums and in the Technicum for Leading Workers. Members of the club: writers, critics, and literature experts, take part in it.

CS0: 2600

ARMY TO START NEW HRUBIESZOW-KATOWICE RAIL PROJECT

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 17 Jul 79 pp 1, 6

[Article by Janusz Latoszek]

[Excerpts] At present, along the 22 kilometer Zagorze-Klimontow section of the Metallurgical-Sulphur Line [LHS] construction project, just the final touches on the embankment remain as well as work on the construction of accompanying structures, among them, railroad banks and viaducts whose construction was not part of the Army's mission.

On 21 July 1979, the eve of the Rebirth of Poland [Swieto Odrodzenia] the military grouping at Sedziszow will report the complete fulfillment of its mission. Immediately thereafter, army engineers will undertake their second, no-less responsible task, namely the construction of the next 9 kilometer LHS embankment section. This time, however, they will be 70 kilometers away, in the vicinity of Grzybow in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship.

"We are already prepared to take on the new task." says Lt Col Jerzy Wlosinski, commander of the Sedziszow grouping. "All of the equipment here at our disposal will be transferred to the new site. We shall certainly use the experience obtained here in Sedziszow in the realization of the next task. In Grzybow too we shall show what army engineers are made of.

Taking advantage of the occasion, we turned to Brig Gen Leopold Raznowiecki, the plenipotentiary of the Minister of National Defense for affairs concerning Army participation in LHS construction and of the chief of the Engineer Troops, for an evaluation of the troops' work on this railroad line which is so important to the Polish economy.

"The Government Presidium, in its decision of 5 February 1979 to move up the deadline for turning the LHS over for use, ordered the Ministry of National Defense to complete a 22 kilometer railroad embankment in the Sedziszow area within a deadline of several months."

CSO: 2600

NEED FOR UPDATING ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 79 pp 38-41

/Article by Ion Dăcu of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and Traian Chebeleu:
"International Organizations Must Adjust to Current Requirements"/

/Text/ In our times the indivisibility of peace has become synonymous with the indivisibility of all the great and serious problems that mankind is facing. Abolition of the armaments race and achievement of disarmament, peaceful settlement of international differences and consolidation of the security of the nations, democratization of international relations, and establishment of a new world economic and political order cannot be artificially isolated from each other nor compartmented either geographically or according to limited interest groups, especially by the outmoded standards of division of the world into blocs or spheres of influence. The major international problems are and must be treated as global ones, in a universal, appropriate and democratic atmosphere and forum with the participation of all states. Such a framework is provided by the United Nations Organization /UN/ and other international organizations with a worldwide mission. As Nicolăe Ceausescu said, "These bodies provide the best organizational framework under the present circumstances for all the states' active participation in solution of problems and for emphatic assertion of the principles of international law and the policy of equality among all nations of the world."

Permanently established as an integral part of modern international relations, the international organizations should respond much more promptly and effectively to the constantly growing specific needs of the community of nations. The development, intensification and expansion of the functions and powers of these organizations must be a continuous process, closely correlated with the actual requirements of the basic trends of progress, so that further development of the international organizations' position and role cannot be divorced from the objective and urgent necessity of democratizing all international affairs, and of redoubling efforts to construct a new world political and economic order.

The UN with its family of specialized agencies and the international organizations in general are an indispensable medium for meetings, contacts, dialogs,

diplomatic conferences, and permanent or quasipermanent negotiations on a world scale as well as an irreplaceable means of advancing and checking worthy suggestions and experiments of general interest that stimulate ideas of cooperation, solidarity and good neighbor relations among nations and peoples.

In pointing out the great interest taken by the small and medium countries in the UN and the international organizations in general, the Algerian ambassador Prof Mohammed Bedjaoui said in his recent work "For a New International Economic Order" that "The UN must be maintained, strengthened and adjusted to the new international conditions to make it more effective. Adjustment of the UN, especially by revision of its Charter, has been presented by these countries as a basic requirement. The big international organizations and the third world nations have a real desire to help each other. They cannot advance without each other and together they are trying to become a mirror with two faces, receiving and reflecting all the world's problems" (1).

It is significant that in the international conflict of ideas the enemies of national sovereignty and democratic international relations are usually on the side of those who look down on the UN and try to make it secondary in the international system. For example, the political scientist Richard W. Sterling recommends establishing a worldwide, supernational and cosmopolitan authority as a universal solution to all problems of the modern world, blaming "the system of sovereignty" and "the sovereign nation" for the outbreak of the wars, the failure of the League of Nations, and the fact that "the UN is still operating on the margin of most of the world's major political problems" (2). It is true that the same author includes "the strongest nations' lack of will and imagination" among the causes of this situation.

But the facts show beyond all doubt that the defects and weaknesses in the activity of the UN and other international organizations do not originate in state sovereignty but in the rejection of sovereignty and free and equal cooperation, in the pursuit of aims and actions foreign to the spirit of the UN Charter, and in disregard of the changes in the world and of the new social-political realities that demonstrate the peoples' resolve to be masters of their fate and to do away with the old policy of force, dictation, and interference in the affairs of sovereign and independent states.

One of the true obstacles that will have to be removed if any common denominator is to be found for consolidating the UN's authority and effectiveness is the outmoded simplistic view of the world (also mentioned by the American diplomat George W. Ball in his book "Diplomacy for an Overpopulated World") as divided into two irreconcilable camps, namely "legitimate powers" or powers of "order" that accept and defend the existing world order, and "revolutionary powers" whose requirements are described as "illegitimate." While diplomacy can and must play an effective part in seeking solutions among the "legitimate powers," the international conferences attended by the "revolutionary" powers cannot be effective because any settlements they make are only "tactical concessions preliminary to an inevitable confrontation" (3). This idea is actually an attempt to justify and legitimize the use of force and a great power's policy of protecting its colonial privileges and old ways.

The supporters of doctrines apologizing for the policy of force and maintenance of the ossification and rigidity of the international institutions are among the same politicians and political scientists who claim that the realities can be adjusted to the interests of the conservative and reactionary circles instead of basing the diplomatic doctrines and instruments upon realities. They go so far as to justify the use of force and of military and economic superiority to impose and maintain an obsolete international order. For example Richard J. Barnett, one of the most zealous spokesmen of these circles, maintained that "The world must be made as safe as possible for the development of the United States by discouraging or suppressing revolutions wherever possible. American economic power must be used to oppose the nonindustrial countries' efforts to change the present international economic system" (4). The same author advocates increasing the United States' military, nuclear and conventional superiority, expanding the military alliances and bases in the world, and leaving a marginal place to multilateral diplomacy and international institutions.

When the balance of power in the UN changed and the Western powers lost their automatic majority, some political circles began to relegate the ways and means of multilateral diplomacy to second place and in these circles there were more advocates of methods of coercion and intimidation and consolidation of the bloc policy. In criticizing what he called the "numerical domination" or "majority tyranny" of the "third world" countries in the UN, Daniel P. Moynihan advocated a harsh attitude toward the developing countries' legitimate requirements. He exclaimed, "We are a minority and we are defeated in the vote. The United States is taking the offensive" (5). The same author calls for use of "the flag of freedom of action" on the part of the transnational monopolies against the idea of equality of nations.

Abraham Yeselson and Anthony Gaglione make a direct, frontal attack upon the UN: "When the reformers propose to strengthen the UN, we must ask ourselves, a stronger organization for whom? The UN's political role should be abandoned in the interests of world peace. Unfortunately this will not happen because the organization is considered a redoubtable weapon for protecting national interests. Although its diminishing usefulness to us has caused the United States and other Western countries to reduce their support, the communist and third world countries will pursue an opposite policy. Therefore the politicians must recognize the inherent dangers and adjust their positions accordingly" (6).

These hostile and threatening attitudes have not remained unanswered, especially in various circles of public opinion. In his article "The United States and the Third World: A Basis for Accommodation," Tom J. Farer said, "The opponents of mutual accommodation maintain that the third world is trying to extort some of the legitimately acquired wealth of the West by economic blackmail, by moral pressure, or even by theft. They blame the poor countries alone for underdevelopment, refusing any request for redistribution or compensation for colonial or neocolonial exploitation." This attitude of the supporters of confrontation instead of cooperation remind the same author of the great bourgeoisie's reply to the claims of the working class: "The poor are poor because they deserve it, and the rich the same" (7). In reply to those who accuse the partisans of realism and accommodation of weakness, Tom J. Farer points out that "Flexible accommodation

to the actual changes and to the legitimate formulated requests is no sign of weakness. On the contrary, it is the essence of the statesman's responsible attitude" (8).

It is noteworthy that such realistic attitudes and stands are making themselves heard not only in academic and journalistic circles but also among figures in the US government and in the governments and parliaments of other Western countries. Of course it is essential for the constructive intentions expressed to be consistently implemented by specific actions, and for the words to correspond with the deeds. The political will of some highly developed countries is still slow to materialize in this respect, as indicated by the proceedings of the Fifth Session of UNCTAD, which closed with unsatisfactory results.

The policies of power, pressure, domination, spheres of influence and blocs have appeared in particular forms in the UN in various periods of its existence. Of course by this time their scope and possibilities have been considerably restricted, and the time is past when the reactionary, imperialist circles could use their dominant position and "voting machine" to force wrong decisions on the organization, even involving it in aggressive ventures and using the UN flag against the freedom of some nations. Prof Joseph S. Nye Jr of Harvard University correctly describes what he calls the erosion and reduction of the hierarchy based upon force in international relations. He thinks this is mainly because "The present system has become much more complex. There are more problems, more performers, and less of a hierarchy" (9). More and more Western authors are coming to the conclusion that the problems can no longer be solved by force and an increased military potential. In such a complex world as the one in which we are living it is increasingly necessary to rely solely upon negotiations to settle differences and all international problems, as the only realistic and rational alternative. Therefore the most active use is required, especially on the part of the great powers, of the forms of multilateral diplomacy and the international organizations and the UN in particular, whose capacity to meet these demands must be strengthened and perfected. It is also necessary to further emphasize the spirit of initiative, innovation and imagination to find new and flexible forms suited to the realities and to provide the UN with the means of coping with its enormous tasks.

The international organizations are not and cannot be treated as ends in themselves. They form a historical category subject to the inevitable evolution of the factors of renovation and progress of the world in which we live. Their viability and vitality directly depend upon the capacity to adjust, constantly improve and develop their functions and structures to keep abreast of the rapid, revolutionary changes in international affairs.

The UN is therefore expected to add a new, qualitative dimension to its evolution as rapidly and fully as possible and to lend its universal mission the moral and operational component necessary for the new conditions under which it is acting, while developing its essential function as a framework and stimulant for the efforts to build the new international order. If it is to acquire this new dimension, the UN must be constantly engaged in a process of persevering search and change in order to eliminate the unjust structures and the defects of the past,

to be maintained in vigor and in step with life, and to serve as faithfully as it can the interests of its 150 and more members and of all the nations regardless of size. This is the spirit in which Romania and most of the member nations are approaching the UN's current problems, an approach verified in everyday experience.

At the opposite pole we find the rigid, conservative conception that rejects the innovating spirit and considers the organization a static entity, immutable and intangible, formed once and for all on a pattern valid over 30 years ago, and insensitive to the realities of a turbulent, constantly changing life. To accept such a view is to abandon the elementary laws of dialectics and the very idea of progress, to condemn the organization to inertia, incapacity and ineffectiveness, to divorce it from the course of events, and to make it ultimately unusable and useless.

In reference to the fact that the UN must meet the demands of a world in constant transition, a world composed of sovereign and independent states wherein the traditional pattern of domination of some over the great majority no longer has a place, UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said in his annual report to the 28th Session of the General Assembly that "The UN and its family of institutions were created to deal with the problems of a world very different from the one in which we are living today... The Charter was directly inspired by the international situation at the end of World War II... While the cold war, the spectacular development of weapons of mass destruction, the change in the relative positions of some of the great powers, the rapid process of decolonization, and the growing imbalance among nations are only a few of the postwar events that have affected the mechanism designed in San Francisco to maintain peace and international security."

This view is accepted by the great majority of the member nations today. Actually the transitory nature of the UN Charter, signed on 26 June 1945, was recognized by its authors themselves and entered in the text of the Charter in the form of some express provisions. Thus Article 109 contains provisions for convening "a general conference to revise the present Charter." In support of the foregoing the Charter also stipulates that "If such a conference has not been held before the 10th annual session of the General Assembly after the present Charter goes into effect (24 October 1945 -- our note), a motion to convene it will be entered on the agenda of said session and the conference will be held on the basis of a decision adopted by vote of the majority of members of the General Assembly and by vote of seven members of the Security Council."

Note that in nearly 34 years from the ratification of the Charter only three amendments have been made in it, to raise the number of members of the Security Council from 11 to 15 and those of the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 and later from 27 to 54. But by this time life and the swift march of progress have changed the world of 1945 beyond recognition. The General Assembly Hall in New York became quite inadequate. It had to be redone several times to make room for the 151 independent and sovereign states now in the organization, compared with the 51 when the present Charter was ratified. Thus history in its way is making essential corrections in the UN's activity.

The present unsuitable structures based on outmoded provisions of the Charter and the operational regulations of the main organs (Note in passing that the Security Council still has no final rules of procedure) and the survival of obsolete practices aggravate and complicate the distortions, imbalances and irregularities in the organization's decision-making system. All this creates and perpetuates many duplications and leads to the growth beyond measure of a cumbersome and very expensive staff of officials, to the output of an undue quantity of paper, and to emphasis upon a bureaucratic routine and excessive red tape at the expense of efficiency, initiative, competence and quality.

Paralysis of the organization's ability to act at certain critical points due to abuse of the veto in the Security Council, the underrating of the General Assembly's role as a supreme forum, inflexibility in the performance of the organization's vital functions and especially in adjusting them to the urgent needs of nearly 120 developing states, and the inverse ratio between the growing number of resolutions and their effectiveness are also grounds for serious and justified concern on the part of most of the member states. There is no doubt that failure to observe or apply the adopted recommendations and decisions can only result in decline of the UN's influence and importance in international affairs. But it is equally true that this is not entirely the fault of the organization as such. As we know, the UN has no coercive means of enforcing its resolutions. This would be impossible in a world of sovereign states. But it is the responsibility of every member state to show the necessary political resolve, to cooperate in good faith to carry out the joint decisions, and to honor its assumed obligations according to the generally recognized international standards.

UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, in expressing his concern about the bad situation in the organization and ways of strengthening the latter, commented as follows in his report to the session of the General Assembly in 1978: "If establishment of a strong and effective UN system is a vital necessity today it is because we are living in a world wherein the nation-states are fighting to defend their sovereignty ... in a world harassed by regional conflicts, increasing poverty and economic instability, and in a world more and more threatened by the weapons of mass destruction. Such a situation does not permit any attitude of cynicism or despair. We can and must allow ourselves to be guided by the feeling of human solidarity that will be manifested in a vigorous family of international bodies if we wish to solve the great international problems facing mankind" (10).

The ways of improving and democratizing the UN's activity were boldly and responsibly formulated in a constructive spirit of cooperation with all the member nations upon Romania's suggestion to discuss the problem of enhancing the UN's role and effectiveness in international affairs as a distinct and full problem to be kept on the agenda of the General Assembly in 1972. Romania's stand and recommendations on this subject were, as we know, graphically expressed in the document submitted at the 1975 session of the General Assembly.

Romania's approach to the problems of modernizing the international organizations, which is crystallized in Nicolae Ceausescu's political thinking, is distinguished by clarity, realism and a high sense of responsibility. The Romanian

conception of the UN's role and position is based upon intensive and exhaustive scientific analysis of human society in its ceaseless development characterized by the constant dialectical conflict between the new and the old. This and the wealth of experience of our nation and our people give their strength to the vigorous initiatives of the Romanians, fraught with imagination and originality and pursued with a perseverance and tenacity born of profound confidence in the justice of their cause. The Romanian approach is esteemed and recognized as an aggressive one fully open to the future. It refutes and rejects the dry dogma, the rigid routine, and the conservative cliché. And most important, it is imbued with a profound revolutionary humanism expressing our socialist nation's principles of morality and ethics.

Despite all obstacles, the innovating trend is growing and gaining strength in the UN every year, reducing the ballast of inertia maintained by those interested in perpetuating the old structures and privileges. At present, as indicated by the proceedings of the Committee on the Charter and Consolidation of the UN's Role, most of the members and especially the small and medium states and the unaligned and developing states are more and more emphatically advocating innovating and radical changes in the UN system as well as adjustment of the organization to the new realities, so that it will actually become an effective and dynamic instrument for establishing and advancing the new international economic and political order.

As we know this committee, which met this year in Geneva, was formed in 1975 on Romania's suggestion, which was seconded by many states.

The General Assembly gave the committee the highly important mandate of considering the many proposals formulated by the member nations concerning the UN Charter and development of the organization's role in international affairs. After more than 4 years of sustained and persevering efforts on the part of many states interested in the committee's progress, this year brought a first result — modest to be sure but favorable, namely the adoption in committee by consensus of a list of proposals formulated by states concerning development of the UN's role in the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The first proposal on this list (submitted for consideration by the General Assembly at the session to be held this year) is the one drafted by Romania jointly with Yugoslavia, Mexico, Sierra Leone and Spain, concerning preparation and adoption of a declaration of the General Assembly on peaceful settlement of international disputes as a first step toward a future treaty on this subject. The committee pointed out in its report that this proposal "aroused particular interest" and that it "is a proposal on which general agreement is possible. There is no doubt that the immediate start of preparation and ratification by the General Assembly of such a declaration, followed by a general treaty on the subject, would very favorably affect the world political climate and would be an important contribution on the part of the UN to the prevention and elimination of the hotbeds of conflicts and tension.

The Romanian committee has before it a multitude of states' proposals to enhance the UN's role in various other activities (particularly in maintaining peace and international security, disarmament, construction of the new international economic order, and improved operation and organization of the General Assembly

with greater powers) that must be taken up as soon as possible with all responsibility and the political will to reach agreement. This committee will accomplish its mission if it becomes an active body, receptive to the states' proposals, which by its analyses and recommendations maintains a continuing effort to consolidate the UN's role in international relations.

Along with other states, Romania submitted to the General Assembly and the committee a series of proposals comprising a broad program to make the organization a true instrument for promoting peace, good will and collaboration among all nations. These proposals were received with particular interest, support and approval, on the ground that they fully conform to the nations' intentions and meet some urgent requirements of the present and future. In the comments made, many representatives of African, Asian and Latin-American countries praised the Romanian proposals' profoundly scientific analysis of the present situation in the organization, their penetrating, broad and long-range viewpoint, and especially their specific and pertinent nature. This demonstrates once again a fundamental feature of our party's and state's foreign policy, namely its morality and complete consistency of word and deed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Mohammed Bedjaoui, "Pour un nouvel ordre economique international," UNESCO, Paris, 1979, p 200.
2. Richard W. Sterling, "Macropolitics. International Relations in a Global Society," A. A. Knopf, New York, 1974, p 278.
3. George W. Ball, "Diplomacy for a Crowded World. An American Foreign Policy," Atlantic Monthly Press Book, Little Brown and Company, Boston, Toronto, 1976 p 124.
4. Richard J. Barnet, "The Great Foreign Policy Debate We Ought To Be Having," THE NEW REPUBLIC, New York, 17 Jan 1976.
5. Daniel P. Moynihan, "The United States in Opposition," in the collection edited by Steven L. Spiegel, St Martin Press, New York, 1977, p 105.
6. Abraham Yeselson and Anthony Gaglione, "The Use of the United Nations in World Politics," in cited collection, p 337.
7. Tom J. Farer, "The United States and the Third World: A Basis for Accommodation," in cited collection, pp 120, 121.
8. Ibidem, p 127.
9. Joseph S. Nye Jr., professor of government at Harvard University, "American Power and Foreign Policy," NEW YORK TIMES, 7 Jul 1976, New York.
10. UN Document A/33/1.

WORK ON MARXIST PHILOSOPHY RECEIVES MIXED REVIEW

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 20 Jun 79 pp 25-28

/Review by Ion Ianos of the book "Introducere in Teoria Marxista a Determinismul Social," Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1979/

/Text/ After "Direction of History" and "Reflections on Marxist Philosophy," Radu Florian has now published his "Introduction to the Marxist Theory of Social Determinism," thus completing a trilogy that reconsiders the same problems from complementary viewpoints. We recognize Radu Florian as one of the interpreters of Marxist social philosophy who try to rearticulate it flexibly, to the exclusion of many cliches. The work on the theory of determinism strikes me as the most complete and precisely finished one. It brings up a series of basic problems and current interpretations and discusses some of them briefly.

In this work too the author adheres to the school of "Marxist study of Marxist thought" (p 10) and displays an excellent knowledge of Marx' work. What Radu Florian attempts and accomplishes is a synchronous, correlated reading of the Marxist texts, bringing out their meaning or meanings including the possibly diverging ones. His strategy is to single out the genuine intentions of Marx' writings from the accumulation of partisan, cursory and dogmatic interpretations. In the case of social determinism he rightly feels that these misinterpretations are the ones that reduce the highly articulated theory to mere "economic determinism" or to mere "political determinism."

The chapter entitled "Interpretation of the Marxist Theory of Social Determinism" achieves some success in reconstituting the Marxist social philosophy in its complicated integration and power of synthesis. The author clarifies the way Marx redefined the object of social studies as "society as the entirety (whole) of relations as the object of the process of social knowledge" (p 58). He argues the "determining character of economic relations in the entirety of social relations" (p 68) and advocates the idea of a "general determinism of society" (p 86). He considers these the three characteristics of the Marxist theory of social determinism. It is not only a matter of pertinent systemization of some new theoretical foundations but inherently of the foundation of his own logic.

The discussion of the dialog between production relations and forces, the one related to "the second characteristic," is particularly bold and original. The author quotes the texts that make the level of production relations dependent upon the primacy of the productive forces, but he considers the ones to the reverse effect much more relevant, the ones in "Capital" especially that accord the active and decisive role in the operation of the production method to the production relations. This reversal of some traditional interpretations is the keystone of the whole demonstration and basic to all attempts to modernize the interpretation of Marxism, nature and the evolution of each individual society, including the capitalist one and the socialist one, and of the causes and structure of the modern scientific-technical revolution. In this connection I should heartily welcome a special discussion by economists, philosophers, sociologists etc. able to pronounce on the two inverse ratios of primacy, either choosing one of them or accepting both on different and complementary grounds. At any rate the author's arguments cannot be disregarded in subsequent efforts to clarify the problem.

Convinced that "Dialectical materialism is inherently historical and it is dialectical just because it is historical..." (p 148), Radu Florian pleads convincingly for the theoretical and methodological imperative of totalization, treating in depth the Marxist concept of society. And here also two different and somewhat contradictory meanings of "social existence" arise, and again the one is chosen that identifies, after Hegel, "social existence" with the "world as an existing entirety" (p 178), on the social level of course. In other words, this concept would designate, in an authentic Marxist interpretation, the entire social reality and society as such. This stand enables him to argue "the central role of the concept of society in Marxist philosophy" (p 187) as evidence of involvement in a vast continuity, with all the distinctive characteristics. Besides the fact that "social existence" accordingly relates Marxism to the multitude of sociological discussions instead of isolating it from them, the author feels that this interpretation also has an essential advantage in that any attribute, as Spinoza would say, will be within and codefinitive with the substance, actually permitting integration of "social awareness" in "social existence" as consubstantial with it.

This interest in correlation and integration is explained in the chapter on the particular objectivity of social existence. "Practical productive activity is the particular and unique interrelation of matter and spirit, taking the form of a fundamental determination of social existence" (p 230). In that case the material and the spiritual are inseparably associated "as two aspects of the same whole," meaning that the dichotomy into the speculative oppositions of traditional epistemology are to be overcome. In particular, consciousness should be recognized as codetermining in and for any practical institutive activity. This polemic against underrating intellectual activities is very important and has the most varied consequences. It demonstrates the need of a better integrative viewpoint focused upon the working process and practical activity of society.

The author finds in Marx the substantiation of the praxiological view that Gramsci and Lukacs clarified and developed. As contrasted with the simple and

mechanical derivations of the consciousness, it is given an "initiating" and "stimulating" role (p 233) in the process of work and production, in any action and in the various areas of practical institution. It is another logical and essential consequence of the previous postulates, which favors renovation of Marxist philosophical thought and which, moreover, can play a beneficial role in the strategy of socialist construction.

In the light of the same summation, the author takes up the particulars of the partial social systems, the subassemblies of society. He analyzes such inter-correlated subassemblies as the economy, class relations, and the relations between organizations (institutions) and the system of intellectual culture. The explicit summation follows the particularizations when the performance or reproduction of the overall social system is examined. Additional arguments are brought in favor of the concept of the "overall social system" to rehabilitate the synchronism of society, long underrated from exclusively or excessively diachronic viewpoints, and also to explain its self-regulation, internal articulation, and functional reproduction on the levels of the parts and the whole.

Even this brief summary of the opinions and hypotheses the author advances clearly reveals the importance of the discussion his book initiates. Its theoretical purport unifies the study of some basic concepts of social philosophy, such as "society," "social existence," "social relations" (and "production relations"), the "overall social system" and its "subsystems." The analyses are articulated in a uniform, homogeneous and precise demonstration. Marx' texts are reread and reconsidered in the light of some modern advances of Marxist thought. The polemic is explicitly and implicitly aimed at the superficial and dogmatic parochialism to which this thought has been subjected and which, more important, has led to simplistic mechanical reductions like "economic determinism." The whole work is unschematic but precise in its interpretation of Marxist social philosophy.

The purpose of such personal and original works, with many original suggestions and hypotheses, is to start a dialog, among other things. To be sure the most extensive and detailed discussions would be desirable, but I have space only to briefly outline a few viewpoints in general at first and then in detail. I reserve the right to return to each of them later in greater detail.

My main reservation is about the author's concentration of almost all his analytical attention upon the doctrines, theories and ideas that he thinks are to be accepted or improved while he subordinates social experience with definite historical periods or facts. The paradox lies in the appearance of this shift of emphasis in a work clearly focused on the idea of the primacy of experience and on the theory expressing this primacy of institutive experience.

This methodological paradox is acceptable in the chapter that reconsiders Marx' basic texts on social determinism, but it is unsatisfactory in reference to some philosophical interpretations of the Marxist theory of social determinism between the turn of the century and the 1960's.

This interval was dominated by varied historical events, some of which are of the greatest importance. Under these circumstances I consider it irrelevant to

concentrate solely upon some texts concerning essentially different practical activities and taken out of their social-historical contexts. I do not think the ideas of Plehanov, Kautskiy, Gherea, Lenin, Bukharin, Stalin, Gramsci and Lukacs can be purely and simply equated. Among other things, this is tantamount to aligning the populizers and theorists of Marxism with revolutionary leaders who actually subordinated the theory to practical political goals. I do not think Lenin can be discussed apart from preparation of the October Revolution and the establishment of the first socialist state in history. Any other approach may diminish the significance, which I think is greater, of that with which it is analyzed.

Nor do I think the main emphasis in connection with the distortions associated with Stalin's name would be upon the theoretical concepts (often very one-sided themselves), but rather upon the series of practical historical circumstances that we are accustomed to call "Stalinism." I do not think it is enough to reduce a real history, dramatized and distorted for many decades, to series of "correct" or "incorrect" ideas. I presume it is this insufficiently historical approach that leads the author to begin the chapter with too few "new theoretical elements that have enriched the Marxist theory of social determinism in our century" (p 99) and to end it with the conclusion that the Marxist idea of social determinism primarily took the one-sided and distorted form of economic and mechanistic interpretation" (p 170), a sad interpretation from which at one point only Lenin, Gramsci and Lukacs are explicitly excepted.

From the historical point of view the first populizers of Marxism are treated too harshly, primarily for what they misinterpreted or had not yet seen. But many important thinkers could be retroactively corrected or taken to task by the hindsight of others. In a discussion reduced to concepts and conceptions and removed from the vicissitudes of a living history, a certain partisanship is almost inevitable whereby, for example, almost exclusively simplifying ideas will be selected from Plekhanov and only flexible ideas from Lukacs, although opposite views could be readily found in both one and the other (which clearly cannot dim Lukacs' far more refined interpretation of social determinism in a historical period wherein it actually is emphatically and objectively favored).

The appeal to experience, beyond the idea of experience, might justify different meanings of the same concept or of the possible relationships among concepts, because we should consider whether Marx might have used some of them in different senses for contextual reasons, that is from different and perhaps complementary points of view. Of course the choice between the predominant role of either the "production forces" or the "production relations" should be the latter (And Radu Florian's suggestion is convincing, although it might seem to obscure the importance of technology, renovation of the production tools etc. contrary to the author's intention), but in the last analysis "social consciousness" could be interpreted in two ways, in one as an internal part of "social existence" and in the other as a relatively external and independent consequence of it. To take another example, why should we oppose such concepts as "society," "social existence," and "overall social system" to the concept of "social formation," considering the latter unviable and irrelevant, instead of accepting it together with the first ones as combining the particular with the general and enriching the general with particular meanings?

I see the same undue enthusiasm for logical contrasts and alternatives in the lengthy plea, valid and justified as such, for "structure" (totalizing or particular). That the structure should be correlated with its origin (continuity with discontinuity, synchronism with diachronism) is just as clear as the failure to recognize this complementary quality in the past. "Systemic" thinking is certainly an enrichment of the modern philosophical heritage, to which Marx fully contributed. Why then should we yield to the temptation to upset the balance now in formulations like "...in a given stage of a society its reproduction determines its change," or "The synchronism of a society determines its diachronism" (p 338), formulas just as true as their opposites, true when taken together in a correct dialectical spirit. Personally I still support the view, until it is proved to the contrary, that the Marxist thinker must remain a "diachronist," a "historian" and a "genetician" all in one. Otherwise he might impair the principle of movement and self-movement, absolute or whatever it is called.

In his previous book, "Reflections on Marxist Philosophy," Radu Florian advocated a conception, now succinctly confirmed, of the relationship of society as subject with nature as object, making this relationship central to Marxist philosophy. I understand the reasons for relativizing the mind-matter relationship which is considered not to be the "fundamental problem" of philosophy (I would prefer to say that it is its fundamental problem from an epistemological standpoint alone), as well as the more comprehensive category favoring the attempt to reconsider Marxist philosophy on the nature-society axis. I think the interpretation of society as subject is also an essential and justified emphasis (to the extent that society produces its existence itself through the intermediary of activity), but the author supplements it himself when he studies the "objectuality of social existence." I think it would be more in keeping with dialectics not to attach the one status as subject alone to society, but to view it constantly as both subject and object, that is in correlated relationships and interchangeable situations. I have reviewed the text wherein the author says "Marx explicitly stated that society is a subject, beyond the possibility of any interpretation" (p 62). In all modesty I shall say that this text in "Bases of the Critique of Political Economy" permits some interpretations and especially that it does not primarily apply to Radu Florian's point. But this is not essential because in this way we would only be involving ourselves in the toils of a textual "philology." The dialectics of society and a complete institution of itself (consequently as both subject and object) are essential. As for the society-nature relationship, it should be rediscussed more comprehensively than in this reduction to a "subject-object" form.

The problem of ideology is worthy of an equally full discussion. Radu Florian distinguishes "science, the cognitive component of culture" (actually the natural and technical sciences), "the cognitive-axiological components like philosophy and the social sciences," and the "essentially axiological components like art and religion" (pp 313-319). In his view, the last two have an "ideological character," ideology meaning the structures of the "conscientization of a social class" (p 321). The scientific criterion of objective truth is dissociated from the pragmatic criterion of reflection of a class' needs. But the assumption that class ideology "does not and cannot coincide with scientific knowledge" (p 323) inevitably leads to acceptance of the young Marx' idea of ideology as

"false consciousness" instead of the sense in which Marxism mainly used the term later on. The result of this sharp dichotomy between science and ideology is an unequal distribution of confidence and sympathy in favor of the former. The reverse of them is an involuntary underestimate of art, which we have noted in the author's previous writings, and of the axiological resources of philosophy as distinguished from the cognitive-scientific ones. "Socialist ideology can never be identified with science, as is often still believed, because it will always include a diversity of values, norms, symbols and representations which are not and cannot be the products of scientific knowledge or, more accurately, are only partially influenced by it" (p 331).

The statement would be acceptable if the part of ideology irreducible to science were not charged with obviously pejorative connotations. In general the values, norms, symbols and representations merit fuller support in the warranted cases, and this would automatically eliminate suspecting ideology of being "false consciousness." As a matter of fact the paragraph on ideology vacillates between suspecting it of many distortions (inherent in its nature) and accepting it nevertheless in its inherent validity. In addition to his natural confidence in the "cognitive component of culture" and in accordance with his professed propensity for flexibility, the author should be more receptive to the "cognitive-axiological components" (that is, in their axiological aspect) and especially to the "essentially axiological components," on the level of their own inalienable characteristics presupposed by these distinctions themselves.

There are also some occasional indications of this. "Misinterpreted as manifestations of the absolute and as expressions of eternal truth, philosophical ideas and values tend to substantiate political class arguments" (p 322). Radu Florian knows very well that if relative truth were not also absolute truth it would no longer be objective truth. The legitimacy of philosophy is as indicated but thereby also a more comprehensive one, not to be reduced to even an indirect conscientizing of the social class. Here the "small" view seems for a moment to obscure the "big" one.

Similarly, upon rightly rejecting the unscientific character of the idealist criterion for determining social existence, the author concludes that "This explains the sterility of the conceptions and theories based upon the said criterion and the sterility of many investigations so oriented" (p 204). I think "sterility" is too strong a word for the partial results of an idealism that is unacceptable on the whole.

Rightly extending the scope of "practical activity," the author argues that "architectural and plastic" works of art are also based upon "change of matter and entail the creation of material objects on the basis of aesthetic criteria to express aesthetic and ethical ideas" (p 239). This is perfect. The idea is included in the demonstration of the osmoses between the material and the mental, but why are literature and music left out of the basic formulation and the listings that follow (Michelangelo, Rafael, Rembrandt, Cezanne and Brancusi)? Could it be from confidence solely in visible and tangible materiality? Are musical and literary works not new objects with specifically human functions? Or is "instinctive activity" no longer entirely admissible on this "essentially axiological"

level on the ground that it attenuates the extremes?

The arguments are convincing that oppose transfer of social determinism to the person or individuals by an intentional or involuntary "psychologizing" of sociology. Radu Florian is uninhibited by the reproaches of Marxism leveled by existentialism or other schools emphasizing individual, subjective and personal coefficients, and rightly so. But his propensity for contrasts comes up again: "... social determinism is not generated by individuals but, on the contrary, it is indifferent to their existence, operating regardless of its effects upon people's lives" (p 192), and "... social determinism does not spring from individuals and it is indifferent to them..." (p 193). In reference to a certain truth, isn't this "indifferent" rather absolutizing, and couldn't it cover actual indifferences on the part of anyone convinced that he is conforming to social determinism?

I think many details of the dialog with Althusser are acceptable, although personally I would not disregard the idea of the "epistemological cut" (in its rational core) nor would I be so completely convinced of the "specifically Marxist character of the young Marx' works" (p 57). The discussion involves details that I have considered from my point of view on other occasions. From this personal viewpoint, to say that in the writings of his youth Marx "makes himself quite independent of Feuerbach's interpretation" (p 59), that in him the generic being loses "any Feuerbachian influence" (p 60) is putting it more statically than to say that in the "Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts" Marx is in "full process of a break with Feuerbach" (p 63). The process is processual, and the process of the break is not purely and simply a break!

I do not think the problem of the limits of knowledge of the relationship between political action and social determinism, for avoiding or lessening the risk of adopting unrealistic ends or means unsuited to the end, "is a point that Lenin did not take up, and this favored the appearance of voluntarist interpretations of his idea" (p 134) concerning the role of political action. As a counterargument it would be sufficient to appeal to Lenin's pointed meditations in the last years of his life about preventing processes of bureaucratizing the new power mechanisms.

One terminological qualification outside this work: Personally I agree with Ion Irimie's distinction in ECHINOX No 1-2 1979 between "determination" as an objective phenomenon and "determinism" as a phenomenon like scientific-philosophical knowledge.

It is evident that reading Radu Florian's book inspires many thoughts. Few recent works on Marxist philosophy entail so many interesting confrontations and so many attempts to resolve the unsettled questions. Radu Florian "opens" or "re-opens" essential "files" of social philosophy. This is a great merit, as well as his capacity to seek and find Marxist answers to crucial questions. His inquiry is only further confirmed by possible differences of opinion, which are in perfect accord with the book's feeling for the never "closed" nature of Marxism. The "Introduction to the Marxist Theory of Social Determinism" is a particularly important and stimulating publication.

CAREER OF SPECIALIST IN ARMOR METALLURGY SKETCHED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 6 Apr 79 p 14

[Article by Mijo Vlastic: "The Inventor of Our Armor Steel"]

[Text] In order that the industry of any country, including ours, is able to manufacture tanks, armored transporters, or any other kind of armored combat vehicles such as submarines, cannons and guns, scientists must beforehand create a particular type of steel. This is not just any kind of steel, but one whose good properties will enable the means of combat to meet the high requirements for combat use during exposure to the effects of the most varied types of anti-armor weapons. Thus, our scientists have been given the task of creating armor steel which will provide armored vehicles with the greatest mobility at the battlefield, ensure a high degree of crew protection, and also render its production under conditions of war as simple as possible. During the first postwar years Yugoslavia was importing armor steel. The import of this type of steel, however, is not that simple, since it is necessary to find the right seller (one which will not quickly change his mind and discontinue delivery), to train people for working with this type of steel (each type of steel behaves differently during its "sculpting"), and to have sufficient reserves in case of war (when transportation routes are easily cut off).

At present we have our own armor steel which was created by Colonel Dr Eng Aleksandar Radovic, a 46-year old, whose bright face radiates an exceptional youthfulness. As a young boy, born in the village of Potocanj, near Titovo Uzice, Era [Radovic] had not even thought of becoming a metallurgist. He thought he would be either a physician or a lawyer, as the majority of his peers. Nevertheless, one day he found himself at the Technological-Metallurgical Faculty in Belgrade where he set an example in student activities by joining the work projects of the youth brigades each year. In addition to studying diligently he was also quite involved in sociopolitical work. Having recently a degree in metallurgical engineering Radovic got a job in the Vojnotehnicki [Military-Technical] Institute and, not lacking in good work habits, he conscientiously began working. A year later he was told to prepare himself for an extended "temporary reassignment": he was to go to one of the steelmills and, together with the experts there, create domestic armor steel of exceptional properties.

Radovic remembers the time he spent in the steelmill as a young man as if it had been yesterday. He recollects the names of engineers and workers, their words and the understanding he encountered in the environment of competent craftsmen metallurgists. It was at that time that the birth of our new armor steel began. It took three times shorter than predicted by the older colleagues of the young engineer. He succeeded in reconciling the irreconcilable: the creation of armor steel of exceptional properties--high durability, good elasticity, which prevents cracking, good welding, and a high degree of safety for the people in armor.

At present, while Eng Radovic speaks of the origination of such a significant material for the needs of the armed forces, it indeed seems all very simple, uncomplicated. But the people whose profession is steel welding are very familiar with the disadvantages of each type. Just think of the significance of the fact that armor steel does not crack even in the most difficult situations, when the force of the shot of a cannon ball or a rocket makes it feel like bursting "in agony" into thousands of little pieces. Moreover, its elasticity enables skillful hands to shape the steel into a desired construction. This is the type of domestic armor steel which Eng Radovic has created. For this achievement in 1978 he received the "22 December" award. In his modesty, one can see and feel, he is attempting to share the merit equally with his associates, with all of those whom he cooperated with while working in the steelmill. The joy was thus shared both by the people in the steelmill, the laboratory, and by his fellow engineers in the Institute.

For the connoisseurs of armor steel it would be appropriate to say a few more words about the properties of our armor steel. As far as its penetrability is concerned, emphasize the manufacturers, it is more impenetrable than any of the steels they have handled. The production procedure for this type of steel is also significant, because the technology for the production of armor steel in the rest of the world is three times longer than the process used in Yugoslavia. Cold welding, without prior heating, is also possible. This is very important both for the manufacturing and repair of armored combat vehicles (especially under conditions of war). A new, semi-automatic welding procedure, which reduces the length of time of welding (of a domestic armored transporter for example) by four times, has also been introduced. In conversing with Dr Radovic it is impossible to avoid the impression of a powerful swing by our entire military industry, beginning with the strong scientific basis in military institutes to the competence of people in the military and civilian industries, capable of applying the most modern technology in the process of production, with scientific knowledge and experience acquired in their own country.

We might as well say that almost anyone who manufactures tanks would sell them to us. Yet no one would sell the military secrets of his country, while the role of tanks and other armored combat vehicles in the event of war, according to the assessments of experts, will be prominent. For this reason the inventor of our armor steel rightly belongs to the family of competent experts educated by the Party, trained by the League of Communists for the

needs of a popular defense war. Prior to the creation of this type of steel the department of materials and protection at the Military-Technical Institute invented steel for our submarines, mine launchers and guns. Teams of people with great experience and knowledge, with a strong material basis, laboratories and staff which would not be embarrassed before any world-renowned expert, with defined requirements and set goals, are mastering new technological solutions for individual arms and tools. Eng Radovic and his associates have adopted a work method such that they do not have to create new materials by using a system of comparison, but in another fashion--by carrying out the tasks from the list of requirements for individual combat or noncombat means. The requirements for creating armor steel were rigorous, such as those set forth only under conditions of war: to create a steel whose composition would be resistant to fatigue, vibrations, penetrability. Eng Radovic's doctoral dissertation, which he defended brilliantly in 1977, elaborates precisely such an approach to the designing of steel. He had previously elaborated the cold welding of armor steel in his master's thesis. This work of his was inspired, among other things, by his desire, actually by that scientific obstinacy to show that a steel of such properties can also be welded cold rather than only hot, as his colleagues had claimed out of persuasion by knowledge acquired on the basis of foreign experience.

With a restless and research-oriented spirit, always the youngest among colleagues in the same "formation" position, Eng Radovic already has new ideas on his desk, along with regularly fresh data on the behavior of a new production "load" of steel used in shooting at slabs, and types of armor that are already finished. He analyzes these data in detail, compares, and sorts them out. A smile of satisfaction never leaves his face: he knows that our people in armor, or behind the armor steel designed on his desk, are safe and have better protection than if they were protected by any other type of armor steel.

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BRIEFS

KOSOVO PETITION COUNCIL--At yesterday's meeting of the commission for petitions and proposals in the Kosovo Assembly and Presidium the suggestion was accepted to form a Provincial Council for Petitions and Proposals. This Council would be a joint organ of the following bodies: The Kosovo Presidium, the Kosovo Assembly, the Executive Council of the Assembly, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, the presidium of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation, the presidium of the SAWP of Kosovo, and the presidium of the Kosovo SUBNOR. The formation of the council is in accord with the resolution of the LCY 11th Congress and will contribute to greater socialization of work on petitions and proposals which is very important from the standpoint of protecting the self-management rights of workers and citizens. Of special importance will be a broader, more basic, and comprehensive analysis and monitoring of problems and occurrences which are pointed out in petitions, as well as acquaintance with these problems not only by the authorized administrative organs but also by organs of sociopolitical organizations and assemblies of sociopolitical communities on all levels. The council would contribute toward a more comprehensive perception of problems and would help authorized organs and organs of sociopolitical organizations to be more fully informed of the nature of problems and occurrences to which workers and citizens, organizations of associated work, and other organizations point in their petitions. In acquainting itself with the facts contained in complaints, the council would make a more qualitative and comprehensive analysis of the causes of problems to which citizens point. It would also suggest measures for eliminating these problems and thus contribute to guaranteeing the system of self-management rights of people. [Excerpts] [Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 79 p 3]

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